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ABSTRACT

The issue of a world-wide information order is the focus of this paper, which outlines the history, status, perspective, and consequences of the NIICO (International Information and Communication Order) debate. The first section explains the concerns and events that led to a unanimously passed resolution by UNESCO calling for a new order for the information systems of the world. The second section, "The Principles: NIICO as Regulator," presents the major elements and demands of NIICO. In the third section, "History of the Concept: Free Flow versus Propaganda," four topics are discussed: the free flow of communication, the right to communicate, a new order, and the report of the McBride Commission and the establishment of the International Program for Development of Communication. The fourth section, "Consequences and Perspectives," focuses on the third world: the NIICO begins at home; the west: words or deeds; new media: new conflicts? and the next challenge: transborder data flow. The last section, "The Literature Section," lists documents and publications in the "news exchange" sector, documents and publications in the NIICO sector, and institutions. (DF)

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communication manual

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An International Information Order?

A short survey on the history and the present state of a challenging concept

by Reinhard Keune

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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0. Summary

A new International Information and Communication Order (NIICO) is a concept demanded by a large majority of developing countries and unanimously passed by the UNESCO general conference in 1978 for newly regulating trans-border flows of information, especially between North and South. In contrast to all other issues in dispute between developing and industrial countries (trade, raw materials, food, industrialisation, technology transfer, human rights, etc.) it appeared here as if a global problem was also capable of global consensus. But despite the unanimity the subject remained controversial. There are still serious differences of interpretation between the big groupings of states in East, West and South in translating the UNESCO declaration on NIICO into reality at national, regional and international levels. But it also has to be stated that both the 1978 resolution and the continuing controversial debate are having a definite influence on media and communication systems in industrial and developing countries. This paper sets out briefly to outline the history, status, perspectives and consequences of the NIICO debate.

1. Introduction

In 1978 more than 130 member governments of UNESCO indicated by acclamation their approval of a resolution which was to lay down worldwide uniform principles for trans-border information flows and regional and international procedures of news exchange. A little more than four years later, in December 1982, more than 140 government delegations again voted on a central problem of international communication. This time the issue before them was how to deal with the new generation of direct broadcasting satellites (DBS). The outcome of the vote was a double defeat for the group of Western states. The vast majority of the world forum, that is almost all developing countries and the East Bloc states, had voted that the technically almost unavoidable "spill-over" of DBS programmes into neighbouring countries was permissable only if the *governments* concerned approved of this spill-over. In the extreme case this would mean, for example, that the West German government would have to negotiate with the governments of all neighbouring countries, including communist East Germany, about the admissability of spill-over from the two main television channel programmes, ARD and ZDF, disseminated by DBS. This would push the Bonn government into the constitution-breaching role of censor for all publicly controlled or private DBS programmes, a problem the US government would have to confront, too, in regard to Mexico, Central America or Canada.

In the vote referred to, the West had itself to blame, though, for the other defeat, because some Western states (e.g. France and Canada) abstained, thereby further weakening the Western position. This disunity in the Western camp had surfaced years previously when the then French president Giscard d'Estaing and chancellor Helmut Schmidt started direct consultation to thwart ambitious DBS plans of Luxembourg which would have brought large parts of France and West Germany under a beam from a Luxembourgian direct satellite.

The split Western vote in December 1982 and the Franco-German consultations over the Luxembourgian DBS plans show that the technologically possible information transfer across borders is already in dispute in the Western camp. This makes it understandable that the problem weighs all the more heavily *between* the industrial and developing countries because the one side – the south – obviously lacks the resources to enter the controvers with the same technological and economic means.

This was why it was the developing countries who, long before Luxembourg's satellite, put forward the demand that the international flow of information

and communication must be restricted, regimented, balanced out and filtered so that something approaching equality of chances between North and South could be reached. In demanding this, the Third World's representatives for one thing failed to take into account that they were infringing on a fundamental premise of the Western democracies, freedom of the press and information. For another thing they ignored the often unintended effect to being lumped together in a coalition with the doctrinarian socialist countries which had made their own information media instruments of government agitation and influencing the masses.

This double dilemma and what at first sight appear to be more urgent problems of North-South dialogue were the reasons why for a decade and a half only a few experts and politicians in North and South addressed the issue of a worldwide information order. The United Nations and its agencies were dominated by other debates: food, hygiene, family planning, commodity prices, investment and terms of trade. The basic wrong in the North-South relationship, the equality of chances between raw material and industrial producers (terms of trade) was recognised and set down in the demand for a new international economic order (NIEC).

In *March 1976* the demand for a "New Informational Order" surfaced for the first time at a symposium of the non-aligned states on information and media issues in *Tunis*. The non-aligned information ministers a few months later (July 1976 in New Delhi) redefined it as "New International Order for Information". A vague, doubly problematical consensus had turned into the outlines of a concept which already by the way it was formulated claimed equal rank with the "New International Economic Order".

The 1978 general conference of UNESCO in Paris unanimously adopted a resolution aiming at creating a new order for the information systems of the world.

2. The principles: NIICO as regulator

All parties to the debate in East and West, North and South primarily see NIICO as a regulator for trans-border information flow from north to south. Among the most used and most valid arguments for such a concept is the fact that five transnational *news agencies* (Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, Agence France Presse and Tass share more than 90% of the world trade in agency news between them (Fernández 1981: 281 ff.). Less known is the fact that in the dissemination of topical *television news* VISNEWS/London, upitn/New York–London and CBS-New York have a similar monopoly position. These three agencies dominate the television news market in the Third World almost 100% in respect of international news film, whereas their material accounts for just under 50% in the West European EBU/Eurovision exchange.

If one defines information more broadly, that is beyond topical reporting, the picture gets even more distorted. The background and feature reporting about developing countries of the press in the industrialised world is almost 100 percent in the hands of *foreign correspondents*. The same applies to radio and television reporting, which relies entirely on assigned staff members. Added to this, the United States exports more than 150,000 television programme hours a year into the Third World, followed far behind by Britain, France and West Germany.

Most Third World countries accuse the industrialised ones of misusing a monopoly-like predominance to offer them information which cannot be meaningfully processed by the traditional communication structures of the developing countries and which is not useful to socio-economic development; they argue that it is sensationalist, oriented to wars, crises or overthrows, ideologically prejudiced and devoid of background. Instead, they argue, a "noise level" is generated which prevents the Third World from asserting its own development oriented priorities of communication as well as from building up systems of its own for adequate self-depiction of the south on a global scale. Hence the "New Order" is to curtail the flood of information from North to South, to make room for the developing countries' communication systems to positively influence the development process through the mass media, to promote dialogue and solidarity among Third World countries and to give the South adequate instruments for depicting itself and conveying the real problems, successes and needs in the development process.

The 1978 UNESCO general conference resolution on a "New International Information Order" came about as a compromise after years of slow-moving

negotiations between representatives of the large groupings of states and hence is formulated very vaguely. Already beforehand the UNESCO considered it necessary to set up an independent commission of experts to deal with the entire complex in more detail. And so there came about the *International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems* headed by the Irishman Sean McBride. Two years after the passage of the NIICO resolution, it presented its final report in 1980 (McBride 1980). The 1980 *general conference* of UNESCO responded to the McBride report with a lively and in parts controversial debate, but, by acclamation and without voting, passed Resolution DR 8 on October 24, 1980, which outlines the mayor elements and demands of the "New Order" in summary and more precisely:

"This new world information and communication order could be based, among other considerations, on:

(i) elimination of the imbalances and inequalities which characterize the present situation;
(ii) elimination of the negative effects of certain monopolies, public or private, and excessive concentrations;
(iii) removal of the internal and external obstacles to a free flow and wider and better balanced dissemination of information and ideas;
(iv) plurality of sources and channels of information;
(v) freedom of the press and information;
(vi) the freedom of journalists and all professionals in the communication media, a freedom inseparable from responsibility;
(vii) the capacity of developing countries to achieve improvement of their own situations, notably by providing their own equipment, by training their personnel, by improving their infrastructures and by making their information and communication media suitable to their needs and aspirations;
(viii) the sincere will of developed countries to help them attain these objectives;
(ix) respect for each people's cultural identity and for the right of each nation to inform the world public about its interests, its aspirations and its social and cultural values;
(x) respect for the right of all peoples to participate in international exchanges of information on the basis of equality, justice and mutual benefit;
(xi) respect for the right of the public, of ethnic and social groups and of individuals to have access to information sources and to participate actively in the communication process.

This new world information and communication order should be based on the fundamental principles of international law, as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

Diverse solutions to information and communication problems are required because social, political, cultural and economic problems differ from one country to another and, within a given country, from one group to another.

Expresses the wish that UNESCO demonstrate its willingness in its short-term and medium-term activities to contribute to the clarification, elaboration and application of the concept of a new world information and communication order."

One remarkable thing about this resolution is that it no longer postulates only "external" measures for a "New Information and Communication Order", that is, to intervene in the trans-border flow of information. There are also explicit references to "internal", that is national hindrances which need to be removed in implementing the "New Order". Also conspicuous in the text of the resolution – whose compromise character cannot be emphasised enough – is that a balanced relationship between the freedom and the responsibility of the journalist, that is between individual rights and a socio-political commitment, is striven for.

Southern self-reliance and unselfish northern help are named as important prerequisites of the "New Order". Finally it must be mentioned that the resolution refers clearly to ethnic and social groups within societies – and thus to minorities – whose right of equal participation in the national and international communication process is underlined. All these elements were missing for many years in the debate about the NIICO concept, and their inclusion in the catalogue of criteria brought the consensus about.

3. History of the concept: free flow versus propaganda

3.1 Free flow of information

After the saddening experiences highlighted by warmongering propaganda during World War Two, the coalition of victors which created a new forum for itself in the United Nations tried to base the international information and communication system on new premises and principles. Since the Western democracies had a strong majority in this coalition in 1944/45, the obvious thing for them to do was to elevate the principle of free information flow and information exchange to a worldwide maxim. Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, adopted in April 1945, and Article 1 of the preamble of the constitution of UNESCO from November 1945, lay down the doctrine of the "free flow of information".

The factors cited, which co-determined the genesis of the "free flow" concept, already point to the later open dissension and the untenability in the long run, in the light of East-West differences, of a position from the founding years of the United Nations. In the doctrinaire Marxist understanding the press (and with it the electronic media) is "collective agitator and organiser" of the party of the proletariat which by definition rules out a function of conveyor of information as a free commodity in the service of the individual's right to communication.

The "free flow" doctrine contained in the founding documents of the UNO and UNESCO was confirmed a number of times in following years by international bodies and conferences, but the resistance of the socialist and Third World countries grew continuously.

3.2 The right to communicate

The new, specific problems arising for the international information system from the needs, problems and objectives of a growing number of independent developing countries could hardly be assessed or projected in the beginning by any of the participants. Hence the South was very slow in formulating its

own unease about the free flow concept. It must be taken into consideration in this respect that although the Third World quickly found methods of grouping and common articulation – e.g. the summits of the non-aligned or within the Group of 77 – it neither was nor is a monolithic block in political or ideological terms.

The consensus tended to grow out of a negative definition which rejected the "Manchester Liberalism" in the information system, reflected in the free flow concept, and also, although on a much smaller scale because of the strong ideological leaning of a sizeable group of developing countries towards the Soviet Union, turned against the Eastern maxim of the media having only an ideological role.

Since the two concepts offered by the North proved more or less useless and the South was finding it hard to put together and aggressively argue a concept of its own, UNESCO began in the years 1969 to 1972 more intensively to address the issue of a new information order as one of its areas of emphasis. Rather tellingly, the theme got more interesting as *communication satellites* were developed in the 1960's which – unlike Sputnik and Telstar – were not yet fixed at a point in orbit but because of their orbiting the earth made particularly clear the new technological possibilities of trans-border information flow. Hence special and general conferences of UNESCO in this period primarily addressed the effects of new satellite technology on a global scale, but already with respect to smaller and developing countries.

An initially small group around the former director of the UN Information Department and later president of the International Institute of Communications (IIC), Jean d'Arcy, and the Tunisian UNESCO ambassador, Masmoudi, deserves the credit for having in the early 70's brought the theme of a new information order out of the cul de sac blocked off by the ideological positions of both East and West. The free flow concept was replaced by the attempt to bind such a "New Order" to a "human right to communicate". This attempt to base in the human rights at international level the information about one another and communication with one another was a considerable step forward, although it could not produce agreement on practical policies between the blocs.

Similar to the later Conferences on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the reference to human rights proved the lowest common denominator for agreement from which no side could stand aloof. Whereas the West understood the basic right to communicate as a human right for the individual, doctrinaire socialism perceived it as a collective right for the societal groups and continued to negate a universal right to information of the individual without a societal reference. Of primary importance to our

context remains, however, that the debate about "the right to communicate" freed the Third World from the dilemma of having to choose between two doctrines of the industrialised north, neither of which was felt to be adequate.

3.3 A new order

The *1978 UNESCO resolution* was the first global agreement to achieve total unanimity among the Western democracies, the East Bloc and the non-aligned states. On the other hand the "New Order" has still not proved its viability. The consensus has in no way done away with the clashes of ideology, politics and interests of the parties.

On the contrary, the example of the handling of the DBS issue mentioned earlier points to the consensus, if it ever existed, having been broken again or at least being in danger of being broken. As in many other fields of international politics, it is plain here, too, that agreed general principles have to keep proving themselves in practice.

The loose agreement of 1978 and the UNESCO resolution of 1980 prove only that the big blocs made the minimum concessions necessary on each occasion. The socialist countries are happy about the postulate that the state, its resources and facilities have a central role to play. The West is able to book on the credit side that journalistic freedom of information and self-responsibility are emphasised. The representatives of the Third World see as their gain from the bargain the commitment of the North to provide intensive support to building up national and regional information systems in the South. The criteria catalogue in the McBride report, confirmed in 1980, for a "New International Information and Communication Order" thus promises to be a more successful survivor than the 1945 concept of free flow, despite remaining grave ideological differences, because the new order aimed for rests on the attempt to balance interests between the large groupings of states and no longer primarily on the assertion of the doctrine of just *one* block.

3.4 McBride and IPDC

Following the example of the Brandt Commission set up by the United Nations to work out solutions for the vast problems of underdevelopment, the UNESCO convened the McBride Commission and gave it specific terms

of reference for its work. Composed of engaged representatives of all three big camps, the commission presented a joint report with surprisingly few dissenting opinions. By this the McBride Commission not only laid the groundwork for the 1980 UNESCO resolution, based on its report, but also pushed a recommendation through the UNESCO general conference which was to help gain the consensus found an operative instrument for ongoing implementation. The 1980 UNESCO general conference resolved the establishment of an *International Program for Development of Communication* (IPDC) and appointed the Norwegian Gunnar Garbo president of this new special agency, controlled by a committee of 35 government representatives. Although the Federal Republic of Germany was not represented in the McBride Commission–in contrast to the Brandt Commission– it did, as the main donor country (ahead of the USA, France and Britain) receive a seat in the IPDC committee, where there is a Third World majority and where the USA, the Soviet Union and East Germany are also represented.

Already at its constituent session in June 1981 it became clear that the IPDC, despite its practical orientation to specific projects, would not be free of controversy. Whereas the Third World perceived the IPDC primarily as the organ to implement Western promises of massive material support of the developing countries in the communication field, the Western group in IPDC emphasised its character as a clearing house and advisory instrument for bilateral cooperation projects.

Since all major Western industrial countries had meanwhile developed their own institutions and channels for cooperation with the Third World in the communication sector, they saw little sense in handing the IPDC cheques for larger measures under its own control and without control of the donor country. Correspondingly low–and disappointing for the Third World–were the financial disbursements the IPDC was able to register at its first regular session in December 1982, only just over three million dollars had actually come in and there were pledges for another four million. The next session of the IPDC, convened in the south Russian town of Tashkent (September 1983) brought no breakthrough towards a super budget of contributions from member governments but, on the contrary, indicated that the main donors, Western countries, are striving to have funds intended anyway for communication projects in the Third World registered with the IPDC and recognised by the IPDC committee. This underlines the role of clearing house and steering organ intended for this new agency by the West which is bound to produce lasting disappointment in the Third World countries. On the other hand, the relatively modest contributions of the Western donors to the IPDC are quite adequate to initiating funding of model projects and thereby to point in the direction future cooperation in this important field of North-South relations should take.

Although both the funding and the future focal areas of the work of IPDC are still relatively uncertain, it must be stated that this operational instrument created by UNESCO in any event plays an important part in pulling together the contrasting interests of the blocs and in preserving and testing the agreement found in 1978 und 1980. The IPDC was not up for discussion when in December 1982 the clashes of interests broke out again over the issue of direct satellites. Under the management of Sarath Amunugama from Sri Lanka, the former secretary general of the Asian Mass Communication Information and Research Centre (AMIC), the IPDC has the chance of countering the ideological controversies which are sure to break out time and time again with concrete examples of cooperation.

4. Consequences and perspectives

The McBride Report, the excerpts quoted from the central resolution of the UNESCO general conferences of 1980 and many other evidences of the debate about the NIICO make plain that the concept of a "New Order" has for some years now been seen not only as a regulator of regional and international information exchange. The awareness has grown in all concerned that you cannot outwardly demand something for which inwardly the prerequisites do not exist. Hence consequences at national levels, in regional contexts and in North-South relations derive from the concept of NIICO which has been accepted all round and been elevated to a maxim.

At the inter-state, trans-border level this requires initially that the media and countries of the Third World which had called for a new order create methods and possibilities of communicating among themselves without bringing in monopoly agencies and correspondents of the North. There are meanwhile many practical examples of this kind of South-South cooperation. The first example of a regional news agency in a part of the Third World is the *Caribbean News Agency*, CANA, which grew out of a former regional service of Reuters and is operated by newspaper publishers and leading journalists in the English-speaking Caribbean. In this case, then, an existing Western agency network passed over into indigenous hands and was continued under local control. The "New Order" is more clearly apparent in the *ASIN* system in Latin America (Acción de Sistemas Informativos Nacionales) to which 17 national governments belong, represented by their government-owned agencies or information ministries. Within the ASIN framework the participating countries daily exchange press information, whereby remarkably the actual news traffic is handled by the journalists and teleprinter network of the cooperatively organised, and hence private, Third World news agency *Inter Press Service* (IPS).

In Asia the long-standing *Organisation of Asian News Agencies* (OANA), which for years was merely a loose association of government-run Asian news agencies, has drawn new impetus from the discussion of South-South cooperation and since 1981 has been operating its own regional service and network called *Asian News Network* (ANN), which groups states as politically diverse as Malaysia and Vietnam and operates permanent telex lines as far as Moscow.

After many years preparation and massive UNESCO support, the *Pan African News Agency* (PANA) started operating a daily news exchange in *mid*

1983. Sub-systems of PANA, offering news in African vernaculars, are being built up. And not least, the already mentioned Third World agency Inter Press Service, which meanwhile has the sixth largest agency network in the world and 150 offices, most of them in developing countries, has contributed substantially to improving South-South communication.

Costly and complicated technology, juridical barriers put up by the West, a hapless and downright prohibitive fees policy of the developing countries for satellite relaying and noticeable deficits in professional know-how have kept South-South approaches to television news exchange behind developments in the agency sector so far. There is regular *daily exchange* between some larger Latin American countries *within the framework of the* SIN system (Servicio Iberoamericano de Noticias). But the SIN system is largely concerned with relaying Eurovision material to Latin America which is why the SIN centre is based in the Spanish TVE in Madrid and not in a Latin American country.

In the course of a cooperation project between the Arab States Broadcasting Union, ASBU and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of West Germany almost 400 television specialists for programme, production and engineering from the Arab region were trained from 1973 to 1977 in the special field of regional television news exchange, and pilot systems were tested for a daily television news exchange with the aid of one-inch video cassettes distributed by air mail. Based on these experiences and with the help of Arab specialists the Arab States Broadcasting Union intends to start a *daily television news exchange* in 1985 with the aid of the planned ARABSAT system. The exchange would be between television systems in all member countries of the Arab League utilising an Arab-controlled satellite system.

A similar cooperation project between the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union (ABU) and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation led early in 1984 to a decision to set up an Asian exchange system for television news using the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean Satellites of INTELSAT. In October 1983 the 20th ABU General Conference in Auckland, New Zealand, decided that the daily exchange should start in January 1984. Asian television organisations in the People's Republic of China, Malaysia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Brunei, Sri Lanka and other countries are already actively taking part. Others are still trying to get their postal ministries to lower national satellite tariffs or are building additional ground stations so as to be able to take part.

After about six years of preparation the system, called ASIAVISION, was able to start operating. The name was chosen consciously as a parallel to EUROVISION to make clear that the same professional rules and conditions apply in supply and demand in the television news sector in Asia as in

EUROVISION. That means that every corporation involved is perfectly free to decide what material to offer or not ot offer neighbouring countries, and beyond to EUROVISION and the North American "market". And every station is just as free to decide whether to air footage offered from outside, whether to work it over editorially or whether not to pick it up at all.

ASIAVISION is the first case of a television news exchange system in a Third World region functioning independently of the material offered by the big Western television news agencies, VISNEWS, UPITN or CBS News, and which, in contrast to Latin America's SIN, does not have its coordination centre in Europe. The daily exchange is coordinated by a centre in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, attached to Malaysian television, RTM. Agreement on individual contributions with the participating stations and the assembly of the daily news package is in the hands of an experienced television journalist from Bangladesh employed by ABU. The daily ASIAVISION package is complemented by selected material from EUROVISION whose offering is relayed daily from Europe to Asia as same day coverage.

A big step forward in South-South cooperation in the daily exchange of television news was the "global experiment" in March and April 1982 by the regional broadcasting organisations ABU,the Arab States Broadcasting Union, ASBU, and the African Union URTNA in cooperation with the EBU (European Broadcasting Union). During this UNESCO-initiated experimental phase, the worldwide INTELSAT autnority made available free of charge transponders of the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Ocean satellites for trial relays of television news, which made it possible for the first time to send news pictures in the day they were filmed from Tokyo, Peking and Seoul in East Asia as far as Dakar, Lomé and Nigeria in West Africa. Immediately after this experimental phase the *Interunion Broadcast Conference* took place in *Algiers*, offering a platform for comprehensive evaluation of the experiment. The conference and the experiment provided valuable impetus for further development in this field of South-South cooperation, following world conferences in Cologne in 1973, Cairo in 1977 and Jakarta in 1981 on concepts for South-South television news exchange.

The North-South dimension has always been and will remain the main challenge to the Third World to keep up international debate on a new order for international information flow. These efforts have been successful so far inasmuch as many professionals and policymakers in the industrialised West's information system now accept the claim of the Third World for commensurate representation in world information flow and for self-depiction in the media of the North. But this theoretical acceptance has not been followed by deeds, or hardly any. The South continues to feel itself under the tutelage of the North, alienated and monopolised, without having

the opportunity to talk back through their own media. Since so far all attempts at inter-state regulation and thus of balancing out information flow have failed, the developing countries have withdrawn to the standpoint that the industrial North create for them equal competitive chances by selective and unselfish media support.

Important parts are played in this by the IPDC, the regular cooperation projects of UNESCO, bilateral agreements on cooperation with industrial countries in the communication sector, exchange contacts between the broadcasting unions of the South and the EBU and between southern and northern news agencies.

This in many fields intermeshing bilateral and multilateral cooperation also has considerable impact on the third dimension of the overall issue, *South-North communication*. It has become clear to the developing countries that access to the media and information systems of the North can only be opened if relayers – regional of international switching centres – have available to them affordable transmission channels and, above all, qualified "moderators" who are highly skilled in providing material which is worldwide acceptable in terms of contents and presentation quality.

This recognition led inter alia to the expansion of the Third World news agency IPS into industrial countries in which it meanwhile offers specialised services on Third World themes in English for the USA, in Spanish and Portuguese for the Iberian peninsula, in German for the German-speaking region of central Europe, in Dutch for the Netherlands and in Swedish for Scandinavia. Out of the same considerations all southern broadcasting unions have meanwhile entered cooperation agreements with EBU/EUROVISION providing for reciprocity, that is mutal access to EUROVISION news and the news packages of existing or planned exchange systems of the developing countries.

Finally, the *North-North dimension* of the overall complex must also be mentioned. The Brandt and McBride reports have made clear to a wide public in the northern industrial countries that there is interdependence with the Third World in many fields and that fundamental problems like distribution of raw materials, industrial division of labour, world trade, migration issues and the world monetary system can no longer be solved without, much less against, the Third World. The exchange of information about developing countries and dialogue with them is therefore becoming more and more of a joint task of the Western group of states and goes far beyond the sponsor role the South expects, for example within the IPDC context.

4.1 The Third World: the NIICO begins at home

The special dependence of the developing countries on the technologies, the know-how and investments of the North brings with it a special responsibility of the people in government in the developing countries. Many Latin American countries and the Philippines have allowed their media structures to grow freely along US lines. In radio and television, for example, the result is a jungle of commercial stations which are not available either for national development policies or for the countries' self-depiction to the outside work and regional cooperation.

Other developing countries have followed the Eastern example or, for reasons of nation-buildung, the preservation and consolidation of power structures or in the interests of national development, have put all media under state control. Their representatives often complain about bureaucratisation and inefficiency of the media and about a lack of flexibility in addressing the big challenges of national development. Even where the mixed form of state or public broadcasting and privately owned print media has been adopted along Western European lines there are conflicts to which governments often respond by censorship or banning in the case of the press or total tutelage of broadcasting.

In view of the mass of open questions and unsolved problems the realisation is growing among those bearing responsibility in the Third World's politics, administration and media that the national communication structure must not be allowed to be primarily an instrument of entertainment and distraction. Information systems are being increasingly regarded in these countries as a development resource, akin to labour, raw materials or industrial capacity.

For the governments of the developing countries this means that national communication policies and planning must take much greater priority than they have had in the past. In parallel, the information and documentation instruments acquire a new priority in national development. In the technological sector and in the journalistic and programme sector not only new development-relevant systems and forms of presentation have to be introduced, but greater emphasis must be placed on broad and high-standard training of all media personnel.

On top of that comes the building up of a national news agency and the expansion of the transmitter networks to ensure adequate signals reaching underprivileged rural people in remote areas. The national charges for telex, telephone and satellite links must be lowered to a realistic level acceptable to

the media. When systems are up for decision, Western standards will need to be dispensed with in many cases if affordable solutions are to be achieved.

So long as developing countries do not push ahead with structural, personnel and technical expansion of their national communication systems they will not be in any position actively to take part in implementing the "New Order".

4.2 The West. words or deeds?

By accepting the 1978 UNESCO resolution and its more precise interpretation during the 1980 UNESCO general conference the West entered a double obligation – albeit a legally non-binding one. For one thing, the industrial countries are to help the Third World expand and consolidate their communication structures, and for another thing, the North is called upon to open its own information and media markets to the South. Approaches to and examples of the fulfilment of these commitments exist in growing number and await more comprehensive scientific analysis.

Because of its economic strength the Federal Republic of Germany is a desirable partner in the Third World. And it has the added advantages of not dragging a colonial past around and being able to offer media technologies respected worldwide. In the awareness of this role the Bonn government and all West German political parties spoke up earlier and more emphatically in support of a "New Order" than, for example, Britain and above all the USA. The far-reaching and hardly curtailed pledges repeatedly made by German government representatives to the Third World since 1976 awakened hopes worldwide of a large German programme of aid in building up and expanding media institutions in developing countries.

The Federal Republic of Germany is indeed the biggest Western donor country in the communication and information development sector. The Bonn economic cooperation ministry reports that far in excess of DM 900 million has been disbursed for Third World communication projects since 1961.

But despite this comparatively high financial outlay, politicians and media people in the Third World argue that Germany has fallen just as short of the expectations placed in it as have the other large Western donors. There was particular disappointment initially over the German stance in and vis-à-vis the IPDC. Bonn consciously refused to allocate larger, project-bound funds to the IPCD, preferring to continue channelling its media aid through

bilateral structures and programmes of North-South cooperation operated by such organisations as the Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), the churches, the political foundations and other statal or private institutions.

The Bonn government tried to get IPDC recognition of running or planned activities and in Tashkent in September 1983 for the first time declared its willingness to finance a clearly defined regional project in Latin America within the IPDC framework.

Apart from the problems posed to Western donor countries in general by energy crises and shortage of cash, there are other specific reasons for the hesitancy in helping. The compromise solution found on the UNESCO platform forces Western countries, especially the Anglo-Saxon ones, to approach the issue with a split mind. On the one hand the West declares the freedom of information and the press as indispensable for itself, on the other hand it must support a group of states which does not want to recognise, at least not fully, these principles. They way out of this dilemma and into engaged support is possible only if the recognition gains ground that in the Third World, information and communication is a major development resource and not primarily an instrument for securing the rule of authoritarian regimes or a luxury commodity for elites.

Another hindrance to committed cooperation is the "sector thinking" which still prevails in the North. Information and communication are not perceived as a major, sector-transcending instrument of development policy, but are looked at economically as a minor factor of the national economy with comparatively small turnover and very few jobs.

There have been positive but even less adequate approaches in respect of the second obligation, opening Western-dominated information and communication world markets. This holds, as mentioned, for IPS, but there have also been important impetii to opening the European information market in recent years from the European Broadcasting Union, EBU. In agreements and contracts with partner organisations in Africa (URTNA), the Arab region (ASBU) and Asia (ABU) the EBU has not only given many Third World television systems affordable access to the daily EUROVISION exchange package of European news, but such arrangements are – as mentioned before – reciprocal. That means there is the prerequisite for the 32 EUROVISION members to take from a growing offering of television news from the Third World relayed by satellite. And, as yet largely unnoticed by the general public, more and more such news from Third World partner stations is being screened in Europe, dependent on the quality of the contributions and the as yet too high relaying costs.

4.3 New media: new conflicts?

While the controversial debate about media and markets, about free access and regimentation continues, the Third World faces the need to address the next revolution in communication without the conflicts and deficits in the present media systems having been overcome or reduced. The new communication technologies such as direct broadcasting satellites, broadband cable systems, computerised data and information banks, etc., are making rapid progress not only in the industrial countries, but are also having ambivalent effects on the developing countries. The entire communication sector, including telephone and telex, entertainment electronics, mass media, computers and their applications is one of the few growth sectors in the industrialised world, with growth running in many cases to double digits. As long ago as 1976 almost half the US Gross National Product was already generated in this sector (Schiller,II:4).

That means that the Third World, in addition to the issues of access and balance in contents to be communicated, must also address the economic factor of new communication technologies which is growing in importance all the time. Hence the concept of the New International Information and Communication Order needs to be expanded by an eminently important economic component. This will involve issues of division of labour in the production sector, now that a number of threshold countries like South Korea, Taiwan or Singapore have already captured substantial market shares in electronic hardware production. But answers are also needed for such questions as to the scale and speed with which developing countries themselves bring in new communication technologies to remain or become internationally competitive and how the large investment costs involved are to be covered. Given the poor economic and financial state of most developing countries, the options available to them are further indebtedness by taking over technologies or further widening of the gap between rich and poor nations if they cannot be brought into the new technologies.

4.4 Next challenge: transborder data flow

The new communication technologies permit practically instantaneous transfer of data, texts, drawings and photos and in the case of broadband systems of pictorial telephone links and coloured video signals in both directions. In addition, computer-linked systems become possible for

transborder data flow, a further new challenge for the countries of the Third World.

Since the transnational corporations and producers of the Western world are already increasingly using this computerised data relaying network there is the obvious danger to developing countries of economic knowledge, managerial functions and decision-taking powers being concentrated more and more in the decision-taking centres of these corporations in the North. The resulting socio-economic effects of new communication technologies on developing countries' economies, societies, employment, education, etc., and the consequences for the worldwide division of labour, raw material prices, world trade flows and regional economic groupings have not yet been researched and in public debate are not yet regarded as necessary to work into the NIICO concept.

Only the New York based United Nations Center for Transnational Corporations, UNCTC, has been making first attempts since 1981/82 to shed light with country studies on the consequences of transnational data flow. In 1982 a comprehensive and very thorough study was presented on the situation in Brazil. Research work has been commissioned or is planned for other Third World countries. But the UNCTC research programme is not restricted to developing countries, it also includes the industrial world. In 1983 a similar research project was given to a group of scientists in West Berlin which will deal with the effects of transnational data flow on the West German economy and society.

5. The literature situation

Scientific analysis of the NIICO has not got beyond approaches and partial aspects. There are available, however, numerous monographs, individual studies, international conference decisions and similar materials. Very limited indeed is the literature on the effects of new communication technologies on the Third World and on the special opportunities and dangers of transborder data flow. UNESCO is planning a focal area research programme for the period 1984 to 1989 concerned with the socio-cultural impact of new communication technologies.

If one brackets out this aspect for the time being, much relevant material is to be found in the documents and publications of UNESCO and also of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) in Geneva, without either organisation so far having presented a summary of the material or the debate. A great many other important statements are available only in the form of grey literature (conference and seminar papers, protocols, lecture manuscripts, etc.). The following listing is therefore restricted to a few titles of recent primary and secondary literature, but in an address appendage indicates institutions and organisations which are able to make comprehensive materials, especially grey literature, available.

A. Documents and publications in the "news exchange" sector

Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union, ABU Newsletter, January–February 1984, Vol. 3 No. 1: "Asiavision launched", pp 1–6.

Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union, ABU Newsletter, March–April 1984, Vol. 3 No. 2: "Asiavision progressing", pp 1–2.

Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union, ABU Newsletter, July-August 1984, Vol. 3 No. 4: "Asiavision Reaches New Heights", pp 1–3.

Arab TV News Exchange Centres. Report of ASBU/IBI/FES Study Group. 1974, 39 pp.

Asian Broadcasting Union. "News Exchange in the ABU Region". Recommendations of the Third International Broadcast News Workshop. ABU/FES, Jakarta, February 1981. 180 pp.

European Broadcasting Union (EBU). "The EUROVISION News Exchange". 29 March 1978. 6 pp.

Hamelink, Cees J. "Transnational Data Flow in the Information Age". Studentlitteratur, Lund/Schweden, 1984. 115 pp.

Keune, Reinhard (ed.) "Television News in a North-South Perspective", Reports–Documents–Recommendations of the Third International Broadcast News Workshop, ABU/FES, Jakarta, February 1981. 180 pp.

Keune, Reinhard and Guy de Fontgalland (eds.). "Television News Exchange in Asia". A case study prepared by Länsipuro, Yrjö (EBU), Shazandel, Ibrahim (ASBU) and Luke (ABU). An AMIC/ABU publication. Singapore 1976. 77 pp.

Scheller, Rolf. "News Flows in Asia". A study of 10 countries. An AMIC publication. Singapore 1983. 132 pp.

Union des Radiodiffusions et Télévisions Nationales d'Afrique. "Rapport de la mission URTNA 1979 chargée d'étudier les possibilités d'instaurer des échanges de programmes d'informations télévisées dans la région de l'URTNA", publié par la Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Bonn 1979. 209 pp.

United Nations. General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session: Resolution No. 37/92: Principles Governing the Use by States of Artificial Earth Satellites for International Direct Television Broadcasting.

B. Documents and publications in the 'NIICO' sector

Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC), Media Asia, Vol. 6 No. 2, 1979: "A New World Information Order – Cooperation is the Key Word". pp 102–111.

Becker, Jörg. "Information Technology and a New International Order". Studentlitteratur, Lund/Schweden, 1984. 141 pp.

Berwanger, Dietrich. "The Establishment of a New International Information Order – Summary of a worldwide debate": Working paper presented at the 'International Conference toward a New World Information Order: Consequences for Development Policy' in Bonn, Dec. 4–6, 1978, 55 pp.

Bielenstein, Dieter (ed.). "Towards a New World Information Order: Consequences for Development Policy". Report of an international conference sponsored by the Institute of International Relations and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Bonn, Dec. 4–6, 1978, 119 pp.

Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para América Latina. Documento Final del Seminario Internacional de la Comunicación en el Diálogo Norte-Sur. Quito, Ecuador, 1981. 95 pp.

Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (ed.). „Vierteljahresberichte" – Probleme der Entwicklungsländer – No. 85: The New International Information and Communication Order (NIICO). Bonn, Sept. 1981, pp 219–318.

Fernández, Mariano. "6000 Words for Sixty Millions – The North-South Flow of News", in 'Vierteljahresberichte' No. 85. Bonn, Sept. 1981. pp 281–289.

Giffard, C. Anthony. "Inter Press Service: News from the Third World". A Report prepared for the International Association for Mass Communication Research. University of Washington. April 1983 (unpublished manuscript). 148 pp.

Hamelink, Cees, J. "Communication in the eighties: A Reader on the MacBride Report". IDOC International, Rome 1980. 62 pp.

Hamelink, Cees, J. "The New International Information Order: Development and Obstacles". Vienna Institute for Development. Occasional paper No. 80/2. 26 pp.

Keune, Reinhard (ed.) "New Communication Technologies and their Impact on Western Industrialized Countries". Summery Report of a Colloquium held in Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany on 17–19 Dec., 1982. 154 pp.

Lent, John, A., "The New World and International Information Order – a Resource Guide and Bibliography". An AMIC publication. Singapore 1982. 103 pp.

MacBride, Sean. 'Many Voices–One World–Communication and Socie-

ty–Today and Tomorrow". Published by Kogan Page, London/Unipub, New York/UNESCO, Paris. 1980/1981. 312pp.

Schiller, Herbert. "Information America's New Global Empire". In: Channels of Communications, Sept/Oct. 1982/I.

Schiller, Herbert. "Who knows: Information in the age of the fortune 500". Ablex Publishing Corp., Norwood, New Jersey. 1981/II.

UNESCO. "Final Report of the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean". San José, Costa Rica, 12–21 July 1976. 82 pp.

UNESCO. "Final Report of the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Asia and Oceania. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 5–14 February 1979. 89 pp.

UNESCO. "Final Report of the Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Africa". Yaoundé, Cameroon, 22–31 July 1980. 81 pp.

C. Institutions

Following are some of the institutions concerned with the New International Information and Communication Order. They make materials available free:

Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC), 39 Newton Road, Singapore 1130

Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para América Latina (CIESPAL), Avenida Diego Almagro y Andrade Maria Esquina, Quito, Ecuador

Catholic Media Council (CMC), Dr. Franz-Josef Eilers. P.O. Box 1912, 5100 Aachen, FRG

East-West Communication Institute (EWCI), 1777 East West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96846

International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA), 2, Place du Marché, CH-1260 Nyon

International Institute of Communication (IIC), Tavistock House East, Tavistock Square, London WC 1H 9LG

International Press Institute (IPI), City University, 2800 St. John Street, London EC1V OH B.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Place de Fontenoy, F-75700 Paris

World Association for Christian Communication. 122 King's Road SW 33 TR London